



2016 JUNE MEETING

Monday 13 June 2016

Attendance: 35 members and 10 guests

Lecture: Immigrants/Refugees, Xenophobia & Home-Grown Terrorism in the Enlarged EU

In the past 15 years, the number of immigrants has been drastically increasing in Europe. Immigrants comprise more than 10% of the European population, amounting to 50 million people. Only in last year, more than 1 million refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and other countries arrived in the EU, and EU's capacity to accept refugees is reaching the limit.

Xenophobia and terrorism are increasing, especially in the midst of Western Europe: Paris, Brussels and London. Why does xenophobia occur in this region? Xenophobia is the Greek word *xeno* and *phobos*: meaning to fear or hate (*phobos*) foreigners (*xeno*). It happened for several reasons: globalization and liberalization of the borders through Maastricht and Schengen Treaties, which accelerated people's free movement; increasing number of immigrants, while the increase in skillful workers caused job losses, resulting in the decline of the middle class. The disparity is widened and dissatisfaction is increased among citizens and immigrants. All of these bring

about xenophobia, especially in Western Europe, where citizens generally defend the human rights and social care.

Under this situation, terrorism occurred in Paris in January and November 2015, then in Brussels in 2016. These attacks were not directly caused by immigrants, but by "home-grown terrorists", the second and third generation offsprings of the immigrants who became "EU citizens". They are EU citizens but do not feel being treated properly because of disparity, poverty, dissatisfaction or discrimination, that develop into the causes for the terrorism.

The Professor Kumiko Haba investigated political and psychological aspects of the controversial phenomenon occurring in Western Europe, where values and promotes human rights are valued and promoted on one hand, but on the other hand unable to guarantee the satisfaction of declining middle class and discriminated new "EU citizens" in their society.

Introduction

In 2015, there were over 65 million forced displacement (including 21.3 million refugees, 40.8 million internally displace persons and 3.2 million asylum-seekers) and 232 million immigrants worldwide, the half of whom were women.



About the Speaker

Dr. Kumiko Haba is Professor of Aoyama Gakuin University, Jean Monnet Chair, and Director of Institute for Global International Relations. She is also Vice President of International Studies Association (USA) of 7,000 members, and visiting scholar at Harvard University.

Her specialities are comparative studies between EU and Asian Regional Cooperation, as well as immigrants, minority questions, and terrorism.

She wrote 53 books (including co-editors and co-writers) and 160 articles. Her recent publications include:

Division and Integrations in Europe – Nationalism and Border Question, Chuokoronsha, 2016

Euro Crisis and European Political Economy, edited by Robert Boyer and Kumiko Haba, 2014

Great Power Politics and Asian Regional Cooperation, Harvard University, 2013

The issues of refugees and immigration are one of the biggest human rights questions today in the world, including Japan and the EU.



Three immigration waves in the EU

There are three waves of immigration to Europe. The first one was the immigration from the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe into Germany at the end of the Cold-War. In total, about one million people immigrated to Germany (600,000 from outside EU and 300,000 from inside EU), though the number has been decreasing since 2000.

The second wave was experienced in Spain in 2004-2005, when the EU was enlarged with new accession of 10 countries. Currently, the number of immigration into Spain has been decreasing.

The third wave was observed in Italy, Hungary and Germany, with the EU enlargement in 2004 and current time since 2007. The increase in immigrants in 2004 was associated with economic reasons, but refugee immigrants from Muslim countries have been increasing since 2007.

Migration routes to the EU

There are two refugee routes to the EU. About 80% of one million refugees take the Mediterranean route crossing the sea. The rest of refugees take the Balkan continental route. The land route is problematic as the border countries, such as Hungary, are against receiving or accepting the refugees, and many refugees starve or die at the border. As the Balkan route was shut since March/April this year, the refugees have to take Mediterranean route even though the journey is much more dangerous.

The immigrants to the EU looking for economic reasons are coming also from two sides. One side is from Eastern Europe including Russia, Ukraine and



Refugee routes to Europe

Belarus. The other is from Mediterranean side including Arabic and Muslim countries.

Immigrants and Xenophobia

In the EU, there has been a long history of receiving immigrants, since the end of World War, even prior to the three waves since the Cold War. In parallel to the increase of immigrants, the Xenophobia is increasing.

Why Xenophobia is increasing now? There are six elements to be pointed out:

1. Acceleration of globalization since the 1980's;
2. Opening of the boarder since 1989;
3. Institutionalisation increased number of immigrant acceptance in line with the Maastricht Treaty signed in 1992;
4. The progress in democratisation after the Cold War, as seen first in Eastern Europe (e.g. the collapse of autocracy of communist system in Soviet union, coloured revolution in Ukraine), then spreading to many of Muslim, Arabic countries;
5. Widening of the gap in wages between the rich and the poor in Europe;
6. Dissatisfaction of EU citizens and the immigrants, especially those who obtained citizenship, causing conflicts and antagonism between lower-to-middle class and immigrants.

Why does Xenophobia occur in Western Europe?

Generally, Western European countries strongly promote and support the value of human rights by protecting employees and providing high-level of social security to all. However, Xenophobia is spreading these days, not only in Eastern and Northern Europe, but also in Western Europe. This is a very curious phenomenon, and European people are also concerned about why Xenophobia and radical right groups are gaining strength.

First, we have to think about the spread of democratisation since the Cold War. According to Anthony Lake, the Executive Director of UNICEF who has served as National Security Advisor under U.S. President Bill Clinton, the "Expansion of Democracy" became the U.S. strategy alternative to the containment policy, backed by military power. A renowned-political scientist Bruce Russett also explained that "Pax Democratia" has become strategy in the last 20 years. By empirically examining the war policy and conflicts in the last 500 years, his study showed that it is very difficult to have a conflict or fight against each other under the democratic system.

About democracy

The origin of the word “democracy” is coming from latin – *dēmos* means “people”, and *krátos* means “rules”. So, the origin of the democracy is to govern people by the people, for the people, of the people, as Abraham Lincoln said.

However, the origin of the democracy did not provide a complete system of governance, as it sometimes introduced mob rules. This is why the representative system is adopted in the modern age. Michael Mann wrote in *The Dark Side of Democracy* that the democracy works well after the “modernisation”, which is a homogeneous, liberalised and marketised society. If the governed territory is the heterogeneous society with a lot of diversity, the democracy does not work well.

Examples of democratisation

Let us take a success example of democracy, the unification of East and West Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The process of integration was not easy even inside Germany and took more than 20 years, with eastern part suffering from unemployment and disparity in wages and general life. Through decades of tremendous efforts, eastern and western parts of Germany have



Fall of Berlin Wall in 1989

achieved homogenised society. Germany now has become one of leading countries in the European Union.

There are other democratisation attempts and many are less successful. One example is Ukraine, with Euromaidan Revolution in February 2014, during the Sochi Olympics. Western part of Ukraine claimed that democracy is introduced in the country but eastern part did not agree. It triggered severe conflicts, killing more than 10,000 people, and the civil war still continues until today.

Another example is China. As seen with Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 and the Hong Kong protests in 2014, the Chinese government has been oppressing such democratisation movements and autocratic system is continuing until now.



Democratisation in Hong Kong in 2014

Following Michael Mann’s theory, China has become strong with integrated power,

economically surpassing the U.S., because it did not introduce democracy while the country has wide range of heterogeneous elements.

Soviet Union, on the other hand, introduced democracy after the collapse of communist system in 1991 and they suffered a lot from economic and social disorders. Then, Putin came in and brought stability in Russia by introducing autocratic system.

Democracy and social stability

Comparing the cases, Michael Mann said democracy works well with homogeneous society (e.g. Japan, France or others), but it will bring instability to a heterogeneous society (e.g. Afghanistan, Iraq or many Arab countries after the Arab Spring). In such heterogeneous society, their lives were peaceful before the introduction of democratic system. It will take a long time to bring the stability back.

Which kind of countries is easy or difficult to introduce democracy? The cases above endorse the Michael Mann’s theory: democracy does not work in heterogeneous society.

Democratic deficit and European Union

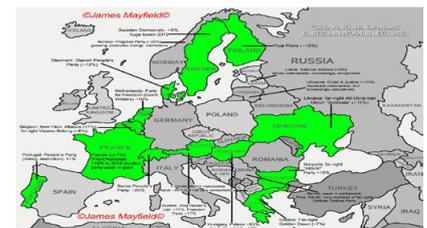
In the EU, the bureaucracy has become so heavy that it was sometimes criticized that the voices of people do not arrive to the policy level. In order to improve the quality of democracy, the Lisbon Treaty was signed by the EU Member States and came into effect in 2009. Amongst many reforms the treaty adopted, it provides for a citizen’s initiative to petition new policy proposal to the EU if one collects one million signatures. Thus the democracy is changing from the representative system developed in 19th century to the joining system, towards more *dēmos krátos*.

As such, even EU, with established democracy, has to change to newer system to maintain the democracy.

Why does right wing nationalism occur in the global era?

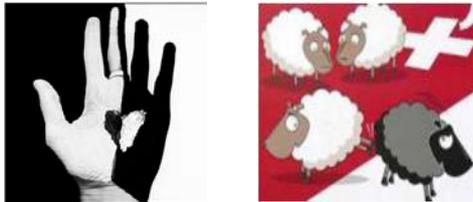
Increasing radical rights in Europe

The radical rights are expanding in Europe. In the figure, the countries with more than 20% of votes supported by radical rights are coloured in green.



It is worth noting that the radical parties are becoming stronger not only in the border countries of the EU, but also in the central part of EU such as Belgium, France and Netherlands.

Below picture shows an example of two posters, which was popular and distributed widely during the election period in Switzerland. On the left, a hand is divided into white and black, showing that white hand stops the black hand to obtain Swiss visa. On the right, the picture shows that white sheep in the flag of Switzerland are kicking-out the coloured sheep. Such right wing campaigns were very popular and the radical rights were gaining power.



Examples of election posters in Switzerland

What is the problem?

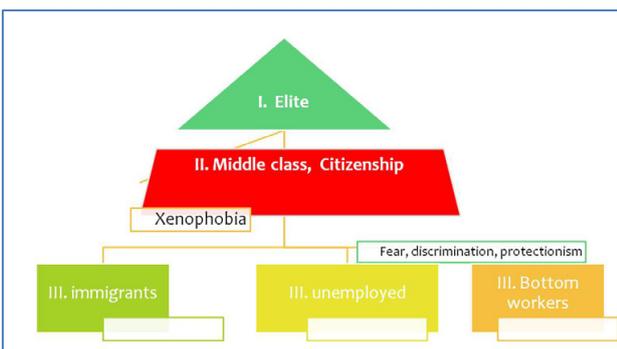
The movement of people from developing countries into EU brought an increase in the wage inequality inside Europe. Under such circumstances, the citizens feel threatened with their future and positions, and they start rejecting heterogeneity in the society. So the citizens start excluding the immigrants. Xenophobia rises as immigrants, unemployment and instability in social security increase.

Although accepting the immigrants and refugees is the right action from human rights point of view, if the systematic preparation for the acceptance is not made enough, it causes confusion in the society.

Xenophobia: horizontal and vertical relationship

Xenophobia can be explained from horizontal and vertical relationship. When many immigrants started coming into the EU from the east, there was a growing sentiment of protection amongst the citizens by distinguishing “we” and “they”, and they started to have walls inside them. Thus the horizontal relationship between the citizens “we” and immigrants “they” has been established.

Vertical relationship of Xenophobia is seen in different classes: lower class and lower middle class. When the immigrants came into the EU, they were first thrown into the lower class. But some of them



Vertical gap and horizontal conflict

were brain workers (such as medical doctors, professionals, military, etc) or hard workers from Eastern Europe, and they started to have conflicts with lower middle class. When the lower middle class and skilled, citizen-workers started to have conflicts with the immigrants when they lost their jobs and became unstable, the situation has changed.

The diagram below depicts the horizontal and vertical gap. The middle class is divided into lower middle class and upper middle class. The Xenophobia has happened between the lower middle class and immigrants because the social stratum is changing in this situation. The discrimination and antagonism started from here.

Nationalism in Europe: Comparative Patterns

This situation is not happening in all European countries and we can analyse the situation by taking four models.

Liberal nationalism model: Central and Eastern Europe

This is a successful model of introducing democracy. Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and other Eastern European countries accepted democracy and many of Copenhagen criteria. As a result, the entire system, including law, economy and politics, was completely changed in accordance with EU system. They joined the EU fifteen years after introducing the changes.

Radical nationalism model: Balkan and USSR

In Yugoslavia, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo started to fight against each other and started to conduct ethnic cleansing when they introduced democracy. Many scholars such as Michael Mann provide that the reason why Yugoslavia had this problem was because the country was not modernized. However, Prof. Haba believes that the real reason lies on the level of homogeneity. Yugoslavia was highly heterogeneous society with many languages and religions. In a heterogeneous society, it is very difficult to create a democratic system and protect minorities. This is why minorities wished to be independent and conflicts started, dividing the country into six nations at last.

Model with conflict across borders: Austria, Italy, Germany

In countries with borders, they have to control the immigrants at the border. In the 1990s, when Schengen Agreement came into effect, they feared opening the border to eastern and southern Europe. With the growth of anti-immigrants sentiment, far-right wing parties such as Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) led by Jörg Haider in Austria and neo-Nazi group in Germany appeared in the 1990s.

“Xenophobia” model: France, Sweden, Switzerland

In general, these countries have very high level of social security and they protect human rights strongly. However, after immigrants came and their heterogeneous society was threatened to instability, people started to use barbaric words. For example, Sarkozy said burqa is prohibited in schools because France is a secular country. Also many “*Romas*”, or gypsies, living in France were gathered and forcefully sent back to Romania. Such policies were very popular amongst certain groups of citizens and Sarkozy was criticised as populist politician. This is a same situation with Trump, who is the representative of the Republican Party and collecting strong popularity among mass, even though he does not represent real American liberal system, spirits of human rights or democracy. So in the heart of the Western Europe, such populist policies have been against immigrants and refugees recently.

This phenomenon is not observed only in one part of the population, but the entire society is changing, especially in the lower middle class, which has accumulation of frustration from losing their jobs. Before the globalisation became pervasive, the workers’ rights were protected through strong trade unions or cooperatism, but the system does not work well anymore and trade unions are attacking the immigrants for taking their members’ jobs.

Terrorism in Europe

In the time when Xenophobia has been growing, the terrorism occurred in Europe - in Paris and Bruxelles. In order to understand why the terrorism occurs, we have to understand the side of refugees and immigrants, as these terrorist attacks were not conducted by the people coming from Islamic State (IS), but by so called home-grown terrorists. These terrorists are normally young Muslims, who have French or Belgian citizenship since two or three generations.

They are brought up in French/Belgian systems, but they feel outside and excluded from the society and have strong frustration and antagonism against their own society. Under such psychological situation, the IS internet information and propaganda influenced them strongly and they executed terrorist attacks in their own country.



Inclusion and exclusion – case of Germany

How can we categorise the inclusion and exclusion from the society? *Gregg O. Kvistad* has shown the

elements of insider (citizen) and outsider in Germany.

The elements of insider are:

1. German;
2. Germans living in Germany;
3. Definitely loyal, ethnic Germans;
4. Non-German who has become German attribution, acquisition, naturalization;
5. Non German whose residence is modified and naturalized;
6. Civil servants are considered provisionally loyal and;
7. Middle-Upper levels civil servants are considered potentially loyal.

The elements of outsiders are:

1. Non German;
2. Non-German Germans outside of Germany;
3. Definitely non-loyal, ethnically non-German;
4. Non-application to naturalization;
5. Citizens who are definitely non-loyal (insider’s outsider) and;
6. Rabble (insider’s outsider).

Solution for the conflict between the downfall middle class and the bottom

There are large differences in perception of immigration between Europe and the US. In Europe, immigrants are considered threat against employment and social security. In the USA, on the contrary, immigrants are considered useful for the society as the source of labour and workers. Europe needs to compete with rising Asia such as India and China, who has cheaper wages and can produce products at cheaper price but with high quality. Europe also needs low-wage workers such as immigrants for global competition.

As the home-grown terrorist attacks have shown the limit, giving EU citizenship to immigrants is unfortunately not the last solution. In order to accept and to include the immigrants in the society, institutionlisation is necessary for wage growth and providing social security, although it will bring dissatisfaction to downfall middle class.

Japan also shares a similar problem, in that more immigrants need to be accepted. We have declining population and it is estimated that the working population is halved in 50 years, with 40% of population aged over 65 years old. The transition from homogeneous to heterogeneous society by accepting more immigrants involves pain and difficulty, but it is an essential task.

As conclusion, to stop the growth of Xenophobia and the terrorism, we should work for the unification of diversity, release of border, and

acceptance of heterogeneity. At the same time, social inequality should be reduced. Europe has been the model of the world for its stability and social security and they need to sustain inclusive and competitive society. It is difficult but a critical goal.

Another remark to be made is to stop bombing in Syria, as the refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq are mostly caused by the bombing. Further, the refugees should be accommodated also in Asia, including Japan, not only in the EU. The EU and Turkey has started a dialogue so that Turkey accepts refugees, while EU, Japan and the US provide the funding and human capacity for institutionalisation.

Lastly, it is also a challenging task, but it is important to make a win-win policy, including minority and gender elements, for a workable pluralistic society with diversity. It is a task of each one of us to work on this and change the society.

Graduation Ceremony for UNU-IAS PhD and MSc 2016

Two students officially received Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in sustainability science, seven for Master of Science (MSc.) in sustainability from United Nations University Institute for Advanced Study of Sustainability, on Thursday, 7 July 2016. The ceremony was held at the UNU Headquarters.

With the graduates dressed in caps and gowns sitting in the front row, the ceremony proceedings initiated with an exuberant declaration from Dr. Kazuhiko Takemoto, Director of UNU-IAS, followed by a video message from UNU Rector Dr. David M. Malone, Rector of UNU, who praised students for their hard work and efforts, and implored them to pursue their dreams relentlessly, play a leadership role in shaping the future of the world more open and connected.

Professor Kazuhiko Takeuchi, former Senior Vice-Rector of UNU, delivered a thoughtful speech urging students to build sound relationship with society and local communities, adapt to the ever changing global environment, ecological system



and climate, above and beyond, be the change and transforming force of the international society.

Other speakers included Dr. Srikantha Herath, former Academic Director and Senior Academic Programme Officer at UNU-IAS, who is leaving after 14-year career devoted to his students and UNU affairs. Ms. Akane Mori, Managing Director and Secretary-General of the Japan Foundation for the UNU, presented each student a Japanese style fan, perfect gift for the summer!

Two students took center stage to speak for their peers. They discussed the particularities of being at the position, to be true to themselves under the privilege of being part of UNU, the need to spread more of their enthusiasm for the future. They sent special thanks to Dr. Herath and faculty members, with their deep appreciation for the support of UNU staff members, Kunitachi home stay families and UNUWA, for offering valuable living experience in Japan.

Full of energy, youth and motion. UNU's fresh graduates in 2016 beat the heat of Tanabata, to the unknown future, seeking harmony with the nature. Bon Voyage!

UNUWA Fund-raising Bazaar 2016

The Fund-raising Bazaar is scheduled this year on the week-ends of 15 – 16 October. As usual we will have a booth in the midst of the lively “Farmer’s Market” on the UNU premises.

The Bazaar Committee has decided to add new items to the sale at “White Elephant” corner, namely, second hand accessories (in a good condition). UNUWA members are kindly requested for kind donation of such accessories that might be sleeping in the jewel boxes at home! For the donation, please bring them at next lecture meeting on 11 October (Tuesday)!!!

Bazaar Committee

UNUWA Website is Open

For the details of UNUWA and updated activity information, please visit: www.unuwa.org

Announcement of the Next Meeting

Date: Tuesday, 11 October 2016, starting at 10:30.

Venue: Elizabeth Rose Hall, Fifth Floor, UNU

Speaker: Ms. Opal Dunn, author and language education consultant

Theme: Education for “Double Children” – Children with two identities and two languages